DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 217 419 CS 206 906

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TITLE Multiculturalism and Change in the Teaching of English.
PUB DATE [81]
NOTE 35p.

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *Cultural Awareness; *Educational Change; *Educational History; Elementary Secondary Education; *English Curriculum; English Instruction; Influences; Literature Appreciation; *Multicultural Education; State of the Art Reviews; *World Literature

ABSTRACT

At the turn of the century, schools in the United States incorporated a curriculum that was decidedly aristocratic and anachronistic. Programs were developed to "Americanize" foreigners, emphasizing conformity to white, middle class, Western European values of patriotism, culture, cleanliness, and social living. Percival Chubb, who for a time was director of the Ethical Culture School in New York, was a pioneer in emphasizing the cultural and civic values, rather than the purely academic, of the English curriculum. Yet English teachers held out for teaching the classics while merely toying with the concept of the social significance of literature. By 1924, there was not only a quest for internationalism, for peace, and for other cultures, but also an awakening of language consciousness. The 1930s highlighted progressivism and "intercultural" and "interracial education." Educators began to stress the influence of literature and communication on the psychosocial development of the child. By 1937, the study of world literature across the country was a "fait accompli." During the 1950s institutional support for intercultural education and its by-products waned. Later, as ethnic "powers" became methods of operation, there was a refurbished cry for the study of ethnicity. In 1973, an article on black English appeared in the "English Journal," signalling an increase in multicultural awareness that had finally become nationwide. (HOD)

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MULTICULTURALISM AND CHANGE IN THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH

by

Jonathan Swift

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"You will have to admit that times have changed. Couldn't you please try these other more up-to-date activities? Maybe they have some educational value after all?"

Even the man's fellow radicals felt that this was going a little too far.

The wise old men were indignant. Their kindly smiles faded. "If you had any education yourself," they said severely, "you would know that the essence of true education is timelessness. It is something that endures through changing conditions like a solid rock standing squarely and firmly in the middle of a raging torrent. You must know that there are some eternal verities, and the saber-tooth curriculum is one of them!"

(Peddiwell, pp. 43-4)

American society was born in mono-culturalism and segregation. Those settlers who, in flight from Western Europe, founded their colonies, fully intended to maintain these conditions but, by 1642, recognized sufficiently the necessity of education to pass, in Massachusetts, the nation's first compulsary education act. As the colonies became these United States, however, the diversity of the population greatly increased and brought about various changes. This was particularly true in education since the growing emergence of the "lower" classes in such a democracy brought with it new awareness, new needs - indeed, new demands.

> The attitudes of Americans toward foreign immigration in the first three quarters of the nineteenth century may correctly be described as ambiguous. On the one hand, immigrants were much desired to swell the population and importance of the states and territories...On the other hand, the arrival in an overwhelmingly Protestant society of large numbers of poverty-stricken Irish Catholics who settled in groups in the slums of eastern cities activated dormant fears of 'Popery' and Rome. (Gordon, pp. 91-2)

This unsettled feeling of which so many Americans complained was only to increase. What, at first, was difference of religious views became class, national, ethnic, and cultural differences as the United States moved inexorably forward to a twentieth century multi-cultural society. Class culture, and American education became well-nigh inseparable. Everything in the schools' developing nineteenth century curriculum emphasized a literary standard which was a vestige of Matthew Arnold's larger doctrine of culture. The university entrance examinations served no less to propagate this doctrine.

> It is difficult to transpose that doctrine from its nineteenth century setting, just as it is difficult to separate it from a genteel tradition in American arts and letters which supported it. Developing from mid-century, it was an aesthetic which offered a kind of polite refinement and moral edification. A major feature of this genteel cultural stance was its celebration of an earlier, purer American past. Art, and literary art in particular, was a defense against the moral crudities of the present. (Piche', p. 23)

During the last few years of the nineteenth century, Henry Beers of Yale University put the attitude toward a multi-cultural society and its literary products in perspective by complaining sadly that the "American nightingale had stopped singing." Nevertheless, he concluded, even that silence was preferable to the:

> ...notes of these foreign songbirds...novelists and poets in this country who strike no root in American soil, who are neither in the English nor in the older American tradition... (but who are) Italians, Russians, Jews, Irish Germans (sic), Slavs. (cited in Lewisohn, p. 98)

Although the last twenty-five years of that century had begun with a long debate on the failure of schools to teach the "basics" - English speech and writing, by the mid-eighties English as a subject had become more significant, marked by increasing attention to the ordered discipline of literary analysis. But this attention to literature was brought about because of an intimate association with university classicists, those guardians of nineteenth century "culture." Public education - beyond mere literacy - was based on preparation for the university where a student would reach those socio-cultural goals of humane cultivation with a good sprinkling of religious indoctrination. Certainly the "Great Books" - the classics - were a vital part of this accepted regime and their very title <u>litterae humaniores</u> suggested that anything other than they would have to be considered less human. It is this attitude that led Harry Levin to refer to them as "the archaic masks of gentlemanly caste." (Levin, P. 355)

Thus, in the face of increasing ethnic and linguistic diversity, various literatures and their hotly debated values as well as the practical arts of language became an insolvable multi-cultural problem in the high school English curriculum.

What, then, is this culture?

> It (culture) refers to the total way of life of any society, not simply to those parts of this way which the society regards as higher or more desirable. Thus culture, when applied to our own way of life, has nothing to do with playing the piano or reading Browning. For the social scientist such activities are simply elements within the totality of our culture. This totality also includes such mundane activities as washing dishes or driving an automobile, and for the purposes of cultural studies these stand quite on a par with 'the finer things of life.' It follows that for the social scientist there are no uncultured societies or even individuals. Every society has a culture, every human being is cultured, in the sense of participating in some culture or another. (Linton, p. 30)

In their book, Minorities and the American Promise, Stewart and Mildred Cole examine the concept of culture and, in particular, the complexity of that culture called "American." Their conclusion is that:

> If American education is to fit youth for living in a society whose structure and dynamics are so largely determined by a diversity of culture-group interests, then every classroom of the nation must share in answering the question: How can boys and girls, who themselves personify divergent cultural heritages, learn to understand, accept, appreciate, and respect their physical and social differences and at the same time unite their understandings and loyalties so that the American people may become 'one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all'?

What is confusing, perhaps, is the apparent dichotomy between an anthropological definition of culture as that which "encompasses the behaviors, beliefs, and attitudes, and also the products of human activity, that are characteristic of a particular society or population" (Ember, p. 23), and the everyday connotation we give to culture that it is "a desirable quality that we can acquire by attending a sufficient number of plays and concerts and trudging through several miles of art galleries." (op. cit.) It is clear to see, however, that our everyday definition is intimately linked with the values of pre-twentieth century Western Europe.

What now is meant by "multicultural?"

The term "multicultural education" has a wide range of meanings relating to the cultural, racial, religious and socio-economic interfaces within the school and community. To avoid giving the impression that there can be within

the education system a separate strand identified in the same way as science education, mathematics education, or social science education, perhaps the term "education for multi-cultural society" would seem more appropriate. For the purposes of English/Language Arts, however, we concur with the aims articulated in the as yet unpublished report of the multicultural Commission of the International Seminar on the Teaching of English in the 80's, held in Sydney, Australia, August, 1980:

> 1. To develop students' proficiency in the English language for whatever purposes may be appropriate.
>
> 2. To develop and foster in students an appreciation of the multi-cultural nature of their society.
>
> 3. To help students clarify their self-image through language, literature, and other forms of communication as universal reflections of the goals and values of particular cultures.
>
> 4. To help students appreciate the value of the part played by component groups, both theirs and others, in the mosaic of their national and international lives.

This paper will examine developments in education and the English curriculum in relation to the foregoing explanations. (See also Append. I, II)

Between 1885 and 1951, millions of rural citizens as well as European immigrants arrived in the cities. These migrants, pluralistic in life styles and mainly polyglot - settled in squallied tenements near factories which provided them with finances at subsistence level. Here the one-roomed school was no longer adequate. Pleas for education reform became a demand as social workers like Jane Addams and educators such as John Dewey and William Heard Kilpatrick faced the problem of developing an educated citizenry in a pluralistic democracy.

At the turn of the century, only a few of those eligible American teen-agers attended a secondary school. That school, a relic of the 18th and 19th century, having changed but little, incorporated a curriculum which was decidedly aristocratic and anachronistic. Criticism of the school increased as leaders in government and education responded by modifying curriculum here and there, certifying teachers, and centralizing schools. Programs were developed to Americanize the foreigners, emphasizing conformity to white, middle-class, Western European values of patriotism, culture, cleanliness and social living. The school became the stage for this neutralizing process known as the "Melting Pot" and, by 1920, the public school was extended to include a possible twelve years of preparation for democracy and, indeed, a pluralism unforeseen by those earlier generations.

Percival Chubb, who for a time was Director of the Ethical Culture School in New York, was a pioneer at the turn of century in emphasizing the cultural and civic values of the English curriculum rather than the purely academic. He conceived the responsibility of the English teacher to be more than the molding of intelligent readers, capable writers and talkers (a task he did not denigrate). He saw this subject as one which has a vital role to play in the formation of character and social values, in the spiritual enlargement and discipline of young hearts and minds which are, in some way, to be touched by this English teacher. He was not only humane but prophetic when he wrote:

> We must have "persons" to teach and to beget personality in the young. The more machine-driven civilization becomes, the more personal power and individuality must we generate by education to ensoul the growing bulk of regimented workers and the swelling plants where they congregate. The more machinery triumphs in the work of the world, the less must there be of it in education. The larger the factory, the smaller the school group; the bigger the crowd, the smaller the class. Education must drive at the "making of souls,"

> not in squads, but singly and individually. Recognizing that modern industry is a large-scale assemblage of "parts"- parts of men included - Education must save the situation by laying hold upon the whole man. As this salvation from the minutely subdivided, routine work of the big factory and big-scale industry must for the present at least be accomplished largely through men's leisure, I believe that the greatest call of the hour on humanistic education, in which English takes the lead, is to train for the right use of leisure, in which the enjoyment of song, story, and drama must always play a leading part. (Chubb, p. XV)

Reading has a significant role because it is in books that the child vicariously experiences the values of other kinds of people in the neighborhood or the world. Chubb showed an incisive awareness of the developing child and the socio-psychological stages at which a perception of the world and its diverse people begins:

> In the primary grades our choice of reading matter was made with a recognition of the restricted contacts of the little child with the big world, which are to be wisely limited in order to avoid overstimulation by an environment not suited to childhood. But the boy or girl of ten or eleven can no longer be strictly sequestered. The world is more and more with him. He shares more in its daily doings and its past history. (Ibid, p. 266)

Uncharacteristically of his time, he expressed concern about our weak perspective of the world, and tied this in with what, to him, seemed a logical process - that of Americanization. While the following was written in the 1902 first edition of his book, <u>The Teaching of English in the Elementary and Secondary School</u>, it is curious to note that it remains unchanged in the 1930 edition:

> We know the tragic results of a narrow nationalism not yoked with a generous internationalism; so that American citizenship must be consonant with world citizenship.
>
> Americanism and Americanization necessarily comes first; but it cannot be divorced from world citizenship. Now, America has be world-settled. We have in our largest cities aggregations and segregations of English, Irish, German, Italian, Russian, and Jewish immigrants of the first, second, and third generations which outnumber those in the largest European cities and make us the most mixed and cosmopolitan nation in the world.

> Hence our need of this dual consciousness and outlook. This is why our literary diet should meet this twofold purpose of making us good and distinctive Americans - good citizens of this republic; and at the same time good citizens of the world, good national neighbors. (Ibid, pp. 562-3)

The social or ethical change of education has always been carried by literature from the beginnings of our recorded civilizations. Recall Plato's argument in The Republic: In order to discuss the good life, we have to discuss the good society - but in order to discuss the good society we have to discuss the kind of education that will bring it about and maintain it; thus, there is no image of the good life that does not necessitate a set of educational objectives.

The English curriculum in the early years of the century was based on a philosophy which sprang from Western Europe. That literature bears the burden of carrying culture and, indeed, ethics is averred by many who influenced American English classes - the teachers of English literature in England. In 1908, William MacPherson, English Master in a county secondary school in Kent, wrote:

> ...it may be asserted, on the principle of 'Art for Art's Sake,' that the ethical element in literature is essentially irrelevant and should be for the educated critic a negligible quantity. To this it may be replied that the teacher is concerned not with the trained critic but with the immature student; nevertheless, apart from this consideration, and from the standpoint of method it is important that we should form some idea of the meaning and value that belongs to this principle of 'Art for Art's Sake.' Since all literature may be regarded as an imitation of life, the principle cannot mean that literature is indifferent to moral distinctions: they exist in the universe, and therefore they must be reflected in literature. (MacPherson, p. 9)

What fascinates the author of this paper is the paucity of reference to the ethics involved in imposing a literature and a culture on people of such diverse ethnic, national, and socio-economic values. This imposition is what constituted the process known as assimilation, or

metaphorically as the "melting pot." Since up to forty million southern and eastern European immigrants consisting of Czechs, Moravians, Poles, Slovaks, Jews, and Greeks poured into the United States in the 1800's, solutions had to be found to take care of them in our schools: There were three. (Baptiste, p. 10)

The first of these was the process of assimilation. This "melting pot" concept was one first-forwarded by de Crevecoeur in the 18th century and propelled through time as far as the 1980's. It was and is a myth which gave hope of assimilation into the teeming multitudes of the new land with a golden future to millions of immigrants who joined with Israel Zangwill in his 1909 play, The Melting Pot, to romanticize optimistically:

> It is the Fires of God round His Crucible. There she lies, the great Melting Pot - listen! Can't you hear the roaring and the bubbling? There gapes her mouth - her harbour where a thousand mammoth feeders come from the ends of the world to pour into their human freight. Ah, what a stirring and a seething! Celt and Latin, Slav and Teuton, Greek and Syrian black and yellow - Jew and Gentile -
>
> "Yet, East and West, and North and South and the polar and the pine, the pole and the Equator, the crescent and the cross - how the great Alchemist melts and fuses them with his purging flame! Here shall they all unite to build the Republic of Man and the Kingdom of God. Ah, Vera, what is the glory of Rome and Jerusalem where all nations come to worship and look back, compared with the glory of America, where all races and nations come to labour and look forward! "Peace, peace to all ye unborn millions, fated to fill this great continent - the God of our children give you peace."
>
> (Zangwill, as quoted in Handlin, p. 150)

The "melting pot" was a myth because the various cultures were never dealt with on an egalitarian basis. Where some cultural limits were accepted, others were ignored, rejected, ridiculed. It was not even, in fact, until many years later that the first high school course in world literature received any recognition.

The second solution was that of "Americanization." While Teddy Roosevelt articulated the more positive aspects of adaptation to the new world with its patriotism and pride, perhaps nothing more vividly describes the negative aspects of this educational solution -which was, in fact, espoused by millions - than the following statement by Elwood Cubberly. Cubberly was acknowledged in educational literature to be one of the better known contemporary educators of the early twentieth century.

> ...After 1880, southern Italians and Sicilians, people from all parts of that medley of races known as the Austro-Hungarian Empire: Czechs, Moravians, Slovaks, Poles, Jews, Ruthenians, Croatians, Servians, Dalmatians, Slovenians, Magyars...began to come in great numbers.
>
> The southern and eastern Europeans are a very different type from the north Europeans who preceded them. Illiterate, docile, lacking in self-reliance and initiative and possessing none of the Anglo-Teutonic conceptions of law, order and government, their coming has served to dilute tremendously our national stock, and to corrupt our civic life...
>
> Our task is to break up their groups or settlements, to assimilate and to amalgamate these people as part of our American race, and to implant in their children, so far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conceptions of righteousness, law and order and popular government, and to awaken in them reverence for our democratic institutions and for those things in our national life which we as people hold to be of abiding worth. (Cubberly, cited in Krug, p. 768)

The time of a multicultural society had clearly arrived but Anglo-Saxon cultural "imperialism" as yet prevented its reflection in the English class. But a stirring of discontent began about World War I. At first the sense of a social "mosaic" rather than a "melting pot" was a cultural argument rather than an educational one. Writing in an Atlantic Monthly of 1916, Randolph Bourne argued for a new type of nation in which the various national groups would preserve their separate identities and cultures uniting as a "world federation in

miniature." Here would be a nation where many minorities could live harmoniously maintaining their integrity yet contributing to a model whole where they could become part of a cultural mosaic. (Bourne, p. 95)

Yet English teachers still held out for the classics while toying with the concept of social significance of literature. In the first edition of his book, The Teaching of English, Charles Swain Thomas wrote:

> The trend of choice should generally be toward the classics. Almost everyone nowadays is an avowed progressive but many of us are progressives with a certain well-defind qualification. We wish to make haste slowly; to advance - but to advance with caution. (Thomas, p. 187)

Elsewhere in his 1917 book, however, Thomas gives a hint that perhaps the way is being paved for a less narrow view of literature - perhaps even the perception of excellence in others:

> ...we must all admit that the most practical interpretation of literature is not seen in mere intellectual, emotional, or aesthetic response; it is seen in the realm of actual living - higher conduct growing out of a higher idealism. (Ibid, p. 32)

> ...as society is now constituted, the first step toward excellence is the perception of excellence in others. Next comes imitation; and after that, original creation. (Ibid, p. 187)

Lest we feel too optimistic, however, he adds later that "true culture comprises an acquaintance with all...the literary forms." (Ibid, p. 193)

By 1924, we begin to see not only a quest for internationalism, for peace, for other cultures, but an awakening of language consciousness. Certainly, English had been the language of the classroom. Countless educators had applauded the "correct" use of the language. For the first time, however, came with the political sense of multiculturalism an awareness of a culture's right to its own dialect or speech. Horace Kallen wrote about a dream in which America would become a "democracy of nationalities" where there would be a multiplicity of values within a

pluralistic society. He coined the term "cultural pluralism" to describe how the diverse elements of these cultures would combine to produce another, more harmonious one:

> The common language of the commonwealth, the language of its great tradition, would be English, but each nationality would have for its emotional and involuntary life its own peculiar dialect or speech, its own individual and inevitable esthetic and intellectual forms. The political and economic life of the commonwealth is a single unit and serves as the foundation and background for the realization of the distinctive individuality of each natio that composes it and of the pooling of these in a harmony above them all. Thus "American civilization" may come to mean the perfection of the cooperative harmonies of "European civilization" - the waste, the squalor and the distress of Europe being eliminated - a multiplicity in a unity, an orchestration of mankind. (Kallen, p. 124)

Curiously enough, at this same time, Russell Sharp was putting a new focus on composition. The emotional crises of World War I had had, of course, predictable effects - an upsurge in international awareness (but with increased world wide communication a greater awareness of various national characteristics), a renewed and more fervent patriotism, and a more insistent demand for expansion of the study of American Literature. Sharp added to this a caveat:

> Insistence on increased emphasis upon the American is more likely to result in provincialism than patriotism. (Sharp, p. 34)

Apparently, the idea of a multi-ethnic American literature had not occurred to this educator who claimed that he had:

> Set himself the guiding principle of excluding from within these pages every bit of teaching philosophy which has not been successfully tested under the practical conditions of classroom procedure. (Ibid, p. IX)

Perhaps we can assume then that the English classroom for him had offered at least a new way of dealing with social issues. His

> ...New composition teaching includes a highly important aim which is corollary to the demand for discussion material suited to the child's mind: to develop the individual as a social being by confronting him with problems of social content. (Ibid, p. 21)

In fact, Sharp went so far as to add:

> Where conditions permit, it would be well to establish, in the first year, a close coordination between composition and civics...In brief, this is the plan: combinations between a teacher of English and a teacher of civics are so arranged that the content material of the civics course is utilized in the expression work of the composition. (Ibid, p. 39)

To recapitulate: By 1924, we have seen an increase in awareness of the scope and necessity of American literature; we have watched the growth of an awareness of global interdependence with the suggestion of cultural pluralism in our own country, and we have seen a plan for the teaching of composition which will use examination and evaluation of social issues as content for writing.

Within only four years, the time becomes ripe for peace education, human relations and world citizenship in the English classroom. William Carr, in proselytizing for "world citizenship" organizes and enumerates the kinds of beneficial effect the discussion of a work of literature should have.

> 1. It should relate examples of the settlement of disputes by peaceful methods and the disadvantages of the use of force.
> 2. It should give a true picture of war and its results.
> 3. It should present examples of the evil results of narrow-mindedness and prejudice and the good results of a tolerant attitude of mind.
> 4. It should give a sympathetic and accurate picture of the life and problems of other nations. (Carr, p. 186)

It is important to note that the author is predicting: he is not telling the reader that this is what actually is happening in English classrooms. In addition, however, we ought to note that while "world citizenship" in the English classroom is not identical to multi-cultural awareness, we can certainly see similar elements which do, indeed, indicate a radical departure from the traditional literary analysis of classics. In fact, Carr, while listing his "shoulds," was

probably aware of the fact that high school courses in world literature had now begun. The first experiment was at the Lincoln School in 1926. (Stolper, p. 480) What were the specific pedagogical outcomes of this type of content and instruction in the English classroom?

> ...there was, first, a marked effect on provincialism, a breaking-down of national prejudices. (Ibid, p. 483)

Corollaries of the increase in self-confidence, according to Stolper, were an increased ability to listen and a rise in respect for dissimilar views. Perhaps most valuable of all, however, was the beginning of a sense of perspective which could so easily develop in students who immersed themselves in the diversity of world culture and literature.

At least one writer, however, warned English teachers of the time to keep their world citizenship and culture in a realistic perspective:

> Psychologically, it would be a sounder policy for us to ignore the topics of peace and international good will than to dwell upon them with an assumed enthusiasm that the child's meager background cannot compass. We must content ourselves, therefore, with measuring our results at first in inches of local toleration, not rainbow spans of kinship with the nations of the world. What, then, can we do? Two things:
>
> The first, but by no means more important, is the breaking-down of prejudice among our students by cultivating a realization of the existent common background, economic and social, among the people who make up our cosmopolitan school groups. Let them realize that races are, after all, mere temporary geographic accidents, and that it means infinitely more to be an ancestor than a descendant...
>
> The recognition of minority interests is basic to a democratic society. Our actual contribution as teachers demands freedom to give an honest answer to pupils asking questions permitting of more than one minority viewpoint. We must be willing to defend our beliefs and yet refrain from propagandizing our pupils as we do so. An instructor who confines his teaching within the limits of his own experience is failing in the profoundest educational service that he might render. (Shoemaker, pp. 673-5)

Yet the 30's highlighted progressivism and Dewey and Rosenblatt and "intercultural" and "interracial education." Educators began to

stress the influence of literature and communication on the psycho-social development of the child. If we wanted a certain value we had to look for it within literature: it was there.

> Literature, like religion, in my opinion, influences personality, informs and creates it, on deeper, more fundamental levels than does moral precept, ethical exhortation, or any sort of incitement to immediate social adjustment. These latter sorts of instruction lead to action of some sort; literature produces and perpetuates those states of feeling which result in value - the most authentically and distinctly human of all our motivations: This is my thesis. (Campbell, p. 105)

(One is reminded of D. W. Brogan's remark that the public school is America's "formally unestablished national church.") — (Brogan, p. 137)

If, indeed, literature had such great power then it was clear that the values it conveyed would become the values of the readers. As literature changed, so would the values of the reader. As a minority writer argued for his culture and his issues, so (perhaps) would the reader.

The earliest educational agency pursuing an intercultural interest in selected schools was the 1937 Committee for Intercultural Education led by Rachel Davis DuBois who had previously published articles on developing sympathetic attitudes toward peoples and on intercultural education. It was not, however, till 1939 that a formal Bureau was created. It began its work under the direction of the progressivist William H. Kilpatrick and Stewart G. Cole (Cole and Cole, p. 223). In his book, Cole claimed that four social forces were contributing to the formation of a philosophy and program of intercultural education in the country at that time. They were:

> 1. The increased knowledge that the social scientists have provided as to how racial and cultural group membership influences the thought, motivation, and behavior of persons;

> 2. The rising sensitivity of democratic citizens to the dangers of unrestrained prejudice, discrimination, and segregation;
>
> 3. The growth in educational theory to include the principles of depth psychology and inter-group dynamics, leading to an improved approach to the teaching of subject matter and classroom management; and
>
> 4. The revolutionary world situation in which the agents of democracy and totalitarianism struggle for supremacy, profoundly testing the qualities of citizenship essential to the establishment of democratic human relations in this country as well as elsewhere on earth. (Ibid, p. 219)

There was a great deal of talk about these progressive ideas, many of them voiced eloquently by Louise Rosenblatt who, seeing clearly the power of literature in contemporary society, wrote:

> The vicarious participation in different ways of life may have a...broadly social liberating influence... (This) can help the youth to realize that our American society is only one of a great variety of possible social structures. When this insight has been attained, the individual is able to look at the society around him more rationally. He is better able to evaluate it, to judge what elements should be perpetuated and what elements should be modified or rejected. (Rosenblatt, p. 221)

Taking advantage of this interest in social sensitization, the Bureau for Intercultural Education launched a program with the United States Office of Education to reach students everywhere - especially through drama. The radio series, "Immigrants All - Americans All," released in 1938-9, which was popular with thousands across the country, was the first project. Then, taking advantage of research by the Federal Theater Project, the Bureau conducted an experiment with the documentary-play method in selected high schools to highlight intercultural issues (Cole and Cole, p. 223).

By 1937, the study of world literature across the country was a fait accompli. A referendum on the English Committee of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools recommendation on

world literature study showed an affirmative vote of nine hundred and fifty-four of the one thousand sixty-five teachers who participated in the referendum (Barnes, J., p. 734). Elsewhere, about this same time, other courses, other units were springing up: a landmark unit on the community - roots, diversity, relationships, and aspirations - was born in Santa Barbara, California; a Seattle, Washington, high school offered a course in folk literature from various national sources obtained through immigrant story-tellers; and ninth graders in a Gary, Indiana, class gathered and translated with the help of their parents poetry of fourteen nationalities (Broening, p. 243).

Nor was the language of American youth of the time ignored. Writing in the English Journal, Walter Barnes stated:

> 'In service of youth' we should, as teachers of the mother-tongue, focus our teaching upon language as a social phenomenon, language as group conduct, language as a means to 'doing things', as a running accompaniment to other activities, upon the psychological rather than the linguistic, the sociological rather than the logical, aspects of language. (Barnes, W., p. 289)

The way was being paved for psycholinguistics which was to become a factor in multi-cultural education for the English classroom.

Perhaps, at this point, some remarks on the English Journal and its role would be appropriate. An examination of the contents of the Journal from its earliest times would reveal pedagogical trends and attitudes that were probably related to the historical tendencies. While such topics as American literature, international affairs, peace education, world-citizenship, intercultural courses, and others developed in the years 1920-40, one should not assume that these innovative thoughts and practices described were widespread. Much depended on the philosophy of the editor as well as the interests of the times. For example, where many references to "peace education" came about as a result of American

participation in World War I, this category had entirely disappeared from the English Journal Index by 1937. But, starting in 1943 - about the time of the Detroit race riots - we see the category "Intercultural Education." (We know this term and concept had been part of the general education scene for at least six years.) The following year, this was changed to "Intercultural Relations" and for the next five years remained so. The high point in interest was reached in 1946 when there were no fewer than eighteen articles on intercultural relations. But this title, too, was changed in 1949 to "Human Relations." More of that later.

The World War II brought some remarkable dichotomies: some national groups were welded together in great patriotism, others, notably the Japanese, suffered extensively; courses on immigrants were inaugurated, with conclusions that

> The children have learned more about their own country: they have learned to have respect for people of other nations, whether at home or as immigrants to our country. (Bynum, p. 64)

...yet racial intolerance abounded. But those years of the early '40's did bring some understanding on the part of a few educators.

It was heartening to read:

> Well adjusted, happy human relationships in his early years in his immediate community will help a student lay a foundation upon which he will be able, when he matures, to build a conception of his social and political responsibility as a citizen of the American democracy. A friendly attitude toward a Chinese child in his neighborhood would likely, if wisely fostered, carry over into a broader, tolerant understanding of the Chinese people. A friendship formed for a German family, an understanding of their way of life, may later lead him to understand that German people are human beings who love and fear and strive to improve their ways of living just as people in this country do. (DeBoer, p. 143)

and a little further, among a list of understandings which promote peace, we find:

> 1. Making such adjustment to community life as will eventuate in better understanding of one's neighbors who may vary in racial inheritance, creed, or color.
>
> 2. Growing in understanding of the human need for adjustment, progress, and change; recognizing the fact that what was considered right in one century becomes wrong in another. (Ibid, p. 144)

Yet even these remarks did not refer as clearly to our relations with racial minorities as did the following by Martin D. Jenkins who attempted to alert educators to what was about to happen (a couple of years later in Detroit) when he made a plea for the pluralistic society envisioned years before by Kallen. Jenkins added, however, the need for a recognition of the Blacks with their individual differences. Undoubtedly, other racial minorities could relate to his remarks:

> The task of the school at this point is to encourage the development of democratic racial attitudes among pupils. Exactly how effective the school can be in shaping the attitudes of secondary-school pupils - especially those attitudes which run counter to those of the community - has not been experimentally determined. Certain it is, however, that the school can provide a program of guided experiences that will lead pupils to an understanding of and respect for the diverse racial and national groups in our population and that will consequently tend to modify attitudes in a desirable direction. Teachers of the language arts in the secondary schools have a particularly fine opportunity to attain this objective through a program of directed reading experiences designed to illumine the background, contributions, and problems of minority groups, and a program of instructional activities that will enlist the constructive participation of minority group members. (Jenkins, p. 103)

By 1943, the ideas of "intercultural education" were widely known - if not practiced. The term "intercultural"

> ...is used...to describe the relationships between and among all racial, religious, ethnic, and socio-economic groups in the United States whose patterns of behavior are distinctive in one or another important respect. (Vickery and Cole, p. 179)

But this type of education was not simply a formula for achieving some kind of cultural interchange. It was

> unique in that it seeks to preserve cultural differences within the geographical boundaries of the United States so that the American way of life can constantly be refreshed and reinforced by peaceful cultural interaction; at the same time it seeks to unite all sub-groups in a common national loyalty so that this county can function as a unit in solving national problems and in dealing with international affairs. (Ibid, pp. 176-7)

Certainly one of the national problems unsolved at that time - perhaps even in our own - was that of racial and ethnic rights. It is sad that the author had to add that a great problem was that

> of encouraging the first social and cultural interchange among the members of white, Negro, and Oriental races, consistent with a policy of race separation so far as intermarriage and family life are concerned, a policy to which all parties are committed for the indefinite future. (Ibid, p. 181)

The 1942 N.C.T.E. pamphlet Teaching English in Wartime is one of the more contrived pieces of literature of the time that I have seen. Perhaps the aim was a good one because it does try - in reaching out to English teachers nationally - to make them more sensitive to the values of other nations and the amalgamation and assimilation (once again!) of immigrants in this country. The editor, Neal Cross, suggests:

> Disunity arises in the United States not only from the variety of national and racial groups in our midst but from the differences between people because of economic, social, and geographic divisions. During the last years this has become an ever more important problem. As in the previous case, our problem is to help students see all people as individuals rather than as members of groups. (Cross, p. 14)

A year later, the editors of English for Social Living state:

> Language is the universal fabric that binds us together when racial, national, social, and economic barriers separate us. (Roberts, Kaulfers, and Kefauver, p. 3)

In exploring attitudes toward language in the multicultural society of the 40's, these authors synthesized the aims of both N.C.T.E. and the 1941 Stanford Language Arts Investigation. They spoke of a "creative Americanism" which would develop an understanding and appreciation of American society as part of past and present world cultures and which would develop cultural integration in the future by effective communication in English classes. They traced the purposes of the investigations to identify and disseminate language arts programs which could provide insights for the future in order to meet the needs of a rapidly changing and more pluralistic conscious nation. Given the world of the 40's,

> It would be rather strange if so close and intimate a part of man's thought as his education in speech and language were to remain fixed while his industry and government underwent drastic world shifts and overturns. (Ibid, p. 27)

The year the war ended brought three articles on intercultural education to readers of the English Journal. One dealt with "fair play" and interracial concerns (Watts), another with underprivileged students in a New York City community (Gallant), the third by Helen Hanlon and Stanley Dimond of the Detroit Public Schools discussed the racial minority problems which confront the English teacher and offered suggestions of projects to meet these problems (Hanlon and Dimond). No doubt, the well-publicized horrors of ethnic brutality perpetrated in Nazi Germany of the thirties and forties, the obvious racial inequities brought to light after the Detroit riots, and the formulation of human rights through the new United Nations Organization brought an environment which was ready for social, educational, and legislative change.

> During the past decade (1943-53) grass-roots programs to spread the leaven of good human relations have been initiated in Detroit, Miami, Chicago, Denver, Oakland, and Portland - to mention only a few key school systems. Literally thousands of teachers have become

> inspired with the intercultural ideal, and are seeking guidance and materials to improve their service to youth. Approximately fifty workshops in this field were offered by colleges and universities in the United States during the summer of 1953, in an endeavor to cope with the popular demand for guidance. (Cole and Cole p. 224)

1949 brought a series of reports in the English Journal from the N.C.T.E. Committee on Human Relations describing appropriate materials and units. This lasted for several years, sporadically, but by 1954 the category of "human relations" was no longer a "draw." During that year, however, Cole and Cole published a widely disseminated outline for intercultural education. It prescribed:

> 1. Study of physical anthropology that includes concepts such as race, creed, class, and sex;
>
> 2. Study of cultural anthropology;
>
> 3. Study and correcting of authoritarian and ethnocentric assumptions in American culture that breed prejudice, divisiveness, and kindred diseases; and
>
> 4. Development of respect for the individual and intergroup understanding. (Ibid, pp. 219-22)

Unfortunately, this book was like a "voice crying out in the wilderness." Minority awareness, interculturalism, cultural pluralism had all but faded. Even the 1956 report of the N.C.T.E. Commission on the English Curriculum seemed to be written by voices from the past. Purporting to meet the needs of youth, the report concentrated not on all the language arts but on literature. It studiously enumerated general and individual needs and specifically referred to relations with those of "all ages, races, nationalities, and creeds," as well as such topics as fair play, individual differences in reading and age, "broadened thinking" (whatever that is), pleasure, moral values, and emotions. There is, however, a conspicuous absence of any treatment of our pluralistic society in multicultural or multiethnic terms. One has to assume, then, that in the mid-fifties N.C.T.E. did not consider this a concern of

English teachers - unless one entire, developed unit on "Back-Country America" would be deemed a response to a multicultural America. We should add to this response three pages devoted to the traditional teaching of world literary classics (Commission, pp. 125-30).

During the remainder of this decade, institutional support for intercultural education and its by-products waned. The most significant catalysts to the later rejuvenation and reshaping of the concept were the 1954 "Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education" United States Supreme Court decision, the civil rights demonstrations and social consciousness raising by Blacks, and the Civil Rights Legislation of the sixties.

> Removal of the segregation veneer uncovered an anglo-centric racist, biased educational system...This system placed one group of people in a superior social position and others in an inferior position.
>
> Perhaps the most momentous aspect of the 60's civil rights demonstrations was the emergence of a new spirit by Black people which transformed them from Negroes to Blacks or Afro-Americans...This immediately led to a questioning of the educational process to which Black youngsters were being exposed...
>
> Other minorities became caught up in the new spirit consciousness of Blacks. Cries of 'La Raza' and "Viva Chicanos!' were heard from some Hispanic groups...The challenging of the Bureau of Indian Affairs by Native Americans on the education of their youth is another indicator of the acceptance of cultural pluralism over the melting pot or Americanism philosophy. (Baptiste and Baptiste, pp. 13-4)

Popular magazines, newspapers and television of the time began to explore the depth and complexity of American racism. The wholly unexpected successes of the Blacks in the South led to a rise of white ethnicity that, too, was unforeseen. The millions of Americans who identified with some ethnic or cultural group began to become aware of other inequities. Black Power, Polish Power, Italian Power, and other

ethnic "powers" became not only popular slogans but, indeed, methods of operation. Educational institutions were brought to the brink of chaos - demonstrations in high schools and colleges were almost commonplace. The cry went out for the study of ethnicity. Many believed, as Laurence Cremin, that education was the means of change, that:

> one literally cannot understand American history apart from it, so often have Americans expressed their political aspirations in educational terms. Education has been, par excellence, America's instrument of social progress and reform... (Cremin, p. 113)

As a result, we began to see the re-birth of electives, the disappearance of anglo-dominated literature anthologies,

> more attention...given to the cultural characteristics, value systems, the impact of socio-political problems and the status of different ethnic groups in American society in both historical and contemporary perspective.
>
> ...The curriculum focus should be on process skill development, concept mastery, applicability of comparative analyses, and interdisciplinary, multi-ethnic examinations of socio-political events, problems, issues and situations. (Baptiste and Baptiste, p. 24)

The English classroom was one of the arenas for revolutionary battle. This came as no surprise. We have already seen that literature and language bore the burden of "culture" and that this culture was clearly Western European, in fact anglo-dominated. We have seen that Zangwell's "Melting Pot" was a myth, that assimilation was a cruel hoax, that prejudice against immigrants and racial minorities had not only been condoned but indirectly fostered in the "new" Americans. Small wonder, then, that we should be called to expiation. Literature conveyed ideas, and the manipulation of ideas meant power. Dwight Burton mildly acknowledged this when he wrote:

> The novel, for example, has been a powerful shaper and inciter of public opinion on social issues and conditions...In contemporary American literature, social themes, particularly involving race relations continue to be explored vigorously. Teachers have realized...that literature...can aid in improving human relations and in developing a rational approach to social problems. (Burton, p. 78-9)

Besides this, new autobiographies, new heroes, new Thermopylaes brought insight and pride in youth's diverse racial/ethnic backgrounds. Emphasis on intercultural and human relations re-emerged. Socio-linguists began to tell the public that language perception and delivery were culture bound and that teachers in the English classroom needed to be more sensitive to this:

> Although socialinguistics is a relatively new area of study, and its research techniques and concepts still in the developmental stage, the significance of its findings to education is already enormous, for sociolinguistic conflict in the classroom is one of the most potent sources of problems in cross-cultural communications between teachers and students. Many misunderstandings arise over the intent of messages when these are sent and received in different dialects or languages. And institutional depreciation of students' speech patterns both prevents an adequate evaluation of their verbal ability and helps alienate them from the teacher and the goals of education...Spanish detention and whippings for speaking Navajo still haunt many schools, serving as a reminder of the traditional attitude of the dominant Anglo majority toward the education of minority groups. (Abrahams and Troike, pp. 141-2)

Researchers attempting to create English curricula which would respond to the needs of the time began to probe experimentally the effect of ethnic literature on children. One of the more fascinating studies was reported by Charles Dan Brisbin who checked the Galvanic Skin Response of children while they were reading ethnic literature. He found that when the youngsters were treated to positive role ethnic literature there was physiologically no emotional re-orientation indicated

although there was a verbalized change (Brisbin). (Needless to say, this experiment proved neither that literature does NOT influence our attitudes nor that the interaction of literature and other class variables is not salutory.)

Editor Richard S. Alm of the English Journal, out in Hawaii during this time, chose not to jump on the ethnic bandwagon which was gathering momentum as it reached the seventies. In fact, it was not until 1973 that an article appeared on "Black English." In this, the author considered the myths about the speech patterns of Blacks and investigated both the literature and the arguments on "Black" English as opposed to "standard" English. Her report, culled from E.R.I.C. documents of that era demonstrated the amount of discussion the multi-ethnic revolution had engendered. The report was brief, objective, and most useful in bringing to the general English teaching field an annotated list of works which dealt with the concern of an individual's right and opportunity to use his/her own language pattern. The knotty and unresolved question was, of course, what should an English teacher do about non-standard English in a multicultural classroom? (Smith)

This article signaled an increase in multicultural awareness which had finally become nation-wide in the seventies. Books, media kits, curricula, teacher seminars proliferated. To his credit the new editor of the English Journal, Stephen N. Judy, published a series of articles on multiculturalism including such topics as "Mexican-American Short Fiction," "Chicano Folklore," "Trends in Modern American Indian Poetry," and "Toward a Grammar of Chicano English," the latter by Ricardo Garcia who, at the beginning of his article, makes an incisive point:

> If everyone could accept the premises that nobody speaks English exactly the same, and that nobody's dialect of English has a monopoly on linguistic precision, this essay would not be necessary. (Garcia, P. 34)

By the year of the Bicentennial, 1976, English Journal was publishing frequent articles on multicultural English teaching dealing with Black, Native-American, White Ethnic, African and other minorities.

But from the point of view of the 20,000 plus readers of the English Journal, the most notable contribution to multicultural education was the entire March, 1977, edition devoted to multicultural literature. We had come a long way from Elwood Cubberly and his disciples. Philosophies had been enunciated, policies written, new anthologies collected, curricula changed, teachers trained and re-trained, Much had been accomplished but much remained behind. We have not eliminated the festering of prejudice, irrationality and brutality. But education, including what happens in the English classroom, is the most compelling force for change. We must now think of multicultural education in gestalt terms - abandon ing the melting pot for the mosaic. This view recommends that:

> Students be exposed to a broad range of multi-faceted, inter-disciplinary content and experiences about many different ethnic groups, both minority and majority: that sensitivity and responsiveness to different ethnic lifestyles penetrate the core and totality of the teaching - learning enterprise; and that culturally pluralistic content and perspectives be incorporated into all educational experiences, whether formal or informal, for all students in all grade levels." (Gay, Geneva. "Changing Conceptions of Multi-Cultural Education" in Bapteste and Bapteste, pp. 23-4)

Appendix I

MICHIGAN STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION
POLICY STATEMENT
ON
MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION (March, 1978)

EXCERPTS

The Board states that:

(a) All curricula should reflect in fair perspective the culture, history, activities, beliefs, and contributions of racial and ethnic groups, males, females, and religions.

(b) All curricula should reflect the social realities of the common culture, and cultural diversity in American life.

and recommends that the curriculum co-ordinator:

(a) Identify and develop curriculum materials and activities that are designed to encourage the students to develop pride in their own ethnic and cultural heritages.

(b) Identify and develop curriculum materials and activities that are designed to expose students to alternative life styles and cultural options.

Appendix II

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TEACHERS OF ENGLISH

ON

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF ENGLISH TEACHERS IN A MULTILINGUAL, MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY (November, 1980)

BACKGROUND: The teacher of English language arts plays a key role in the integration of linguistically and culturally diverse learners in the school and the community. That role is becoming more complex as increasing numbers of students from a variety of cultures enter the general school population.

In recent years, educators have learned a great deal, through research and practice, about language learning and language differences. Much more, however, needs to be done in applying this knowledge in the regular classroom. Be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the National Council of Teachers of English and its members affirm the responsibility of the English-teaching profession to develop the English language skills of all our students, including the linguistically different, whether bilingual, bi-dialectal, or non-English speaking;

that NCTE and its members seek ways to make our commitment known to the United States Department of Education, the state departments of education, boards of education, school administrators, teachers, parents, and the general public;

that NCTE and its members work with the foregoing groups and other professional associations to help school systems and classroom teachers develop appropriate resource materials, teaching techniques, curricula, and in-service training programs;

that NCTE and its members promote and disseminate materials and offer guidance through NCTE journals and other publications, through conventions and conferences, and by other appropriate means; and

that NCTE and its members urge the passage of legislation that will support the efforts of language arts teachers to develop the English language skills of students who are linguistically diverse.

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